1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

By the time the big lord living in the capital would have appointed several representatives to this particular fief because it had grown so big. Such fiefs were the ones most likely to fall prey to sub-division at the death of a king and appointment of a new one. For at this time the incoming monarch had to reward his chief supporters with grants of new fiefs.

As in the pre-nineteenth century the political hierarchy served as an appeal court system, and at the very top of the local fief hierarchy the junior lords shared adjudication with the most senior local leader whatever his rank. Usually these very senior political leaders of the fief had koranic scholars, or mallams, who gave legal advice. Serious cases such as homicide were referred immediately to the capital.

The other variety of fief, that based on birth into a particular group, or *jili* is less well understood. The word "jili" refers to variety or kind. The people speak of this or that jili of soil, or tree, or person. In using it to refer to a person they give his territorial or settlement background, or ethnic group, or his clan grouping if this differs from his territorial classification. Thus a person can have several jili —ethnic, territorial, or clan. Even patrilineal lineage affiliation can be described under this term. Nomadic groups in Bornu were represented as jili in the Shehu's court by a big lord of the jili (chima kura jilibe); this man was, in effect, the fief-holder responsible for the nomad group. Sometimes he was a leader of the group itself, and at other times he was a trusted Kanuri follower of the monarch. In both cases the big lord of the jili administered the group through his own representative in the group who was, unlike the territorial grouping, the local leader of a nomad clan, or a sub-tribe. Sometimes entire tribal groupings came under one jurisdiction, and at other times or in other sections of the state the tribe would be broken down into subsections based on clan groupings with one or more clans under a single fief-holder or big lord of the jili.

This double fief system allowed the nineteenth-century Bornu government the organizational means of administering both the settled and nomadic populations of Bornu. It also did something else very important, for it allowed the government effective control over the population even when natural disasters such as outbreaks of disease or sudden invasions sent the people into flight. If a large set of settlements had grown up in one territory from an original one, and this area was then beset by some disaster, which made the people flee in several directions, they were still thought of as a jili or a single variety of persons. They were still organized under their old lords, and their old leaders still retained over them some powers of taxation and demands of loyalty. If the entire kingdom was in an uproar —as it was during the Fulani wars at the beginning of the century with people fleeing in all directions—then old leaders, or former leaders, could muster their scattered followers as jili, and the political integration of the kingdom remained intact and viable until new settlements stabilized locally, and the territorial-based fief system could re-assert itself.

Complicating the system was the settlement of groups with fiefs through permission granted by the big lord in the capital. He could be approached by the leaders of a group of craftsmen, or kinsmen, or people of the same ethnic extraction, who requested of him that they be allowed to settle in one of his fiefs. In this case, the special group was directly under the jurisdiction of the lord through his local administrator, the junior lord, who dealt with their headman. In later generations,

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 208 [186] social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the Southern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 175 578 648 [563] [579] During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The British colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Authority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder, riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled [167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 648 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 105 178 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times. As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

618 To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom
[101] the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between
[931] Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

167 The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and
• 563 are numerous in the western sections of the province. In sim-
177 ilar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in
[437] the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa
[463] are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

177 The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

177 of Moslems and Europeans.

4. Peoples acculturated to the Kanuri

177 563 101 A circle of peoples surrounding the Kanuri have become, in varying degrees, acculturated to the Kanuri. These are relatively small groups who today are part pagan, part Moslem, and who speak Kanuri as well as their own individual languages. They lie in a sweeping circle along the borders of the area occupied by the Kanuri.

Directly east of the Kanuri, along the borders of Lake Chad and on the innumerable islands in the lake itself, live the Buduma. They probably represent part of the indigenous population of the plains of Bornu, forced into the inhospitable environment of the lake by the incoming Kanuri. Buduma living on the shores of the lake and in constant contact with Kanuri are Moslem and very Kanurified (acculturated to the Kanuri). Those in the interior are neither.

South of the lake and southeast of the Kanuri towns of Dikwa and Bama are two large tribes, the Mandara and the Kotoko (or Mogori). Kotoko towns like Segel, on the border of Chad, whose inhabitants are in immediate contact with the Kanuri from nearby towns, are very Kanurified. The people of Segel all speak Kanuri in addition to Kotoko, but the Kotoko are a distinct group. The Mandara, Moslem like the Kotoko, are more strongly identified with the Kanuri. Many individuals of Mandara origin live among the Kanuri and have adopted Kanuri cul-

ture. Many slave families among the Kanuri today were originally Mandara. The Mandara live to the immediate east of the mountainous area inhabited by the Gwoza pagans, and Mandara is the lingua franca for the Gwoza hills.

The Marghi of Damboa District, just west of the Gwoza hills, are perhaps the clearest case of a group which, though still identifiable as a distinct people culturally, is fast losing that identity and adopting Kanuri culture. The Marghi, up to recent times, served as a source of slaves for the Kanuri. Famous Kanuri title holders were Marghi slaves, called by the surname 'Marghi'. In Bornu Province they have become entirely integrated within the larger Kanuri society, within the present Kanuri-dominated political system, and within the urban-oriented economy of the area which looks towards the Kanuri capital, Maiduguri. Although older people among the Marghi still speak their own language, it is very common to find younger generation Marghi who have never learned Marghi and speak only Kanuri.

The Babur people live in the hilly upland area directly south of the Kanuri, centering around the town of Biu. They remain a part-Moslem, part-pagan people. The Bura and the Tera are sub-groups of the Babur. The upper classes of the Babur are entirely Moslem, and speak Kanuri. Many Babur have moved to Kanuri towns, particularly to Maiduguri. Often, after being accepted by the Kanuri community, they seek to deny affiliation with the Babur and call themselves Kanuri.

The Bolewa, southwest of the heart of Kanuri territory,

177 are a more distinct group. The Bolewa are one of a number of
• 563 small tribes in the area centering around the towns of Fika
101 and Potiskum. However, while the Bolewa are a Moslem people, the Kerekere, Ngizim, and Ngamo, who all live in the same area, are pagans. Since this region was under the direct control of the empire of Bornu, the Moslem Bolewa are oriented towards Bornu and the Kanuri. The upper classes of the Bolewa speak Kanuri. The Kerekere, Ngizim and Ngamo show little sign of Kanuri influence.

Lastly, the Bede of Gashua are a group completely surrounded by Kanuri. The town of Gashua lies eighty-three miles west of Geidam, between the Kanuri towns of Nguru and Geidam, both of which are larger than Gashua. The Bede have retained their own language, though almost all Bede speak Kanuri as well. They are a part-Moslem people, acculturated to the dominant Kanuri who envelop their small area.

177 The various peoples mentioned above are culturally distinct
563 groups living along the borders of the area of the Kanuri and
[715] in constant contact with Kanuri culture. During the time of the
[636] empire of Bornu they were all to some extent subject peoples of the Kanuri. As a result they have become acculturated to the Kanuri, but have retained their identity as separate groups. This process is different from that of groups of people who inhabited the plains of Bornu at the time of the coming of the Kanuri and were subjugated and absorbed by the Kanuri. They have not become completely submerged, for they may still exist

177 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are
• 563 many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 The culture of a people never remains static; it is con-
105 stantly changing in response to forces, both external and in-
177 ternal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957)
[01] Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178
494 A number of material changes have been introduced which have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[655] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178
312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[603] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriv-
[563] ing village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[65] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart- [743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by [737] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried [563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group 131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Nigeria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town 134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function- 121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

243 221 ber is expected to last them for an entire year, and the months of April, May and June are generally the hungry months, when the millet supplies begin to diminish.

244 243 312 Additional crops of some importance are varieties of beans, okra, rice, melons, squash, tomatoes, cucumbers and onions. These are frequently grown as garden crops, near places where there is a permanent water supply. They can then be watered by hand, or through the use of shadoofs to raise water from rivers to the higher banks.

244 Groundnuts are the primary cash crop of Northern Nigeria, and the Kanuri plant large quantities. Almost all Kanuri families, even those in the larger towns plant a crop of millet; in the villages, almost all plant a second crop of groundnuts [492] [439] as well. These are bought by agents of the larger trading companies for cash, and eventually are sold to the Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Board through which they are released onto the 433 [534] world market. Millet is the basic subsistence crop of the Kanuri, while groundnuts are the primary source of cash for the Kanuri villager.

433 233 The Kanuri do not rely exclusively on agriculture. They keep sheep and goats in their villages, which young boys take out beyond the fields to graze in the mornings, returning in the evening. Cows are kept, and fed by the same means, but 433 these are few in numbers. Certain Kanuri sub-groups, the Kwoyam 233 and the Buduwai, depend largely on cattle which they keep in • 563

433 great numbers. Budawai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233
563 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
233 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close
relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs,
on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri
agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic
interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of
Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most north-
easterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa
are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples
extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep dif-
ferent breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
[438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the
sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to
Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

632 565 342 556 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks, with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are similar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern, [363] [492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 [563] Wards may have different characters, especially in large towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided [463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 361 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called the dandal. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's [644] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the Shehuri) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

000 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

602 627 younger brother (kərami) of the child's father, a relative belonging to the child's dur bube, will avenge the child's death, and under those circumstances the law will not punish the avenger. The kərami of the child's mother will do nothing, for should he avenge the death of his sister's child the law states that he himself may be punished. This seems to be the only case for stating that the dur bube is stronger than the dur chambe.

174 611 It is extremely difficult to reconstruct earlier Kanuri social organization, and to indicate the changes which it has gone through. It is evident however, that patrilineal descent groups were present at the time of the accounts of Barth and Nachtigal, both of whom spent long periods of time with the Ka- 174 nuri in the nineteenth century. For earlier periods of the history of Bornu, names are given for tribes, and, in the history of federation, conquest and civil strife, these names sometimes have an ethnic or linguistic character; at other times they seem to designate political entities; and again they also resemble clans at times.

192 563 [101] The Kanuri have a word, jili, which means "kind" or "sort", but can be used specifically for "nation," "people," or "kin group." A person's jili would first be given as Kanuri; he would then indicate sub-groups of Kanuri--Kanuri proper, Buduwai, 563 Mobber, Manga, Kwoyam etc. These sub-groups today speak dialects 184 174 [197] of Kanuri which are all mutually intelligible, and no other indigenous languages. They represent ethnic sub-groups who now share in the same larger culture, but who may have entered Bornu

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563 at different times, or may have become assimilated to Kanuri
17 culture. A shatter-belt of small tribes, part-pagan and part-Moslem, and strongly influenced by Kanuri culture, rings Bornu Emirate. (These have been described in Chapter I.) North of Bornu are the Kanembu, closely related culturally and linguistically to the Kanuri, and with an inter-twined history that goes back to the Empire of Kanem, which preceded the Empire of Bornu.
[614] The Kanembu and the Kanuri share another set of jilis--which appear to be the remnants of patrilineal kin groups, or patrisibs.

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614 The word jili will here be used in a very restricted sense to refer to the sib. Informants with an interest in the history of Bornu and with a strong historic sense relate that the jilis were no longer functioning in the days when Shehu Laminu ruled at Kukawa. Kanuri, Kanembu and all the sub-groups of Kanuri (Kwoyam, Mobber, Manga etc.) were sub-divided into jilis with
[304] the same names cross-cutting them. A child was of the same jili as his father, and each jili had its distinctive facial scars by which its members could immediately be identified. The jili was not endogamous. Each jili had its common ancestor, whose name is known for every jili; each jili had as its head
[65] someone appointed by the Mai, or king. The primary function of the jili head was to collect taxes (haraji) from the people of
[643] his jili. The Mais of old were of the jili Magumi, the royal
[613] sib, and of the sub-jili Sef. All individuals of the sub-jili Sef are descended from Sef Isami who is reputed to have come

614 178 is Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tamagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [643] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his region by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [563] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noqana) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

[GEIDAM]

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table 1) and represents urban Kanuri • 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- 197 [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation, which becomes increasingly more

ooo and religious activity.

2. Wards and Neighborhoods.

632 [634] Since the town of Geidam is the administrative center of Geidam District, the Ajia of Geidam is the central political figure in the town. A town itself, however, is administered by a Lowan. Formerly, Geidam had one Lowan; however, as the town grew in size, it was subdivided into wards (nguro). Geidam has three wards, and each has its own Lowan. Each of the wards has its own character, and although many activities have reference to the town of Geidam as a whole, other activities are limited to a ward, or centered within a particular ward. [563] Two of the wards are almost entirely Kanuri and have Kanuri Lowans; the third is predominantly Hausa and has a Hausa Lowan.

The "U" of the town surrounding the dandal represents the center of the old town and is solidly Kanuri. This is the ward of Lowan Ashek, a kabuna of the Ajia. Political and administrative activities of a higher order center in Lowan Ashek's ward. The overwhelming majority of the Ajia's kabuna (47 of the 54 kabuna) live there. A small section of the river area falls under his jurisdiction as well since his ward stretches [732] westward to include the river-edge. At the northeastern tip of Lowan Ashek's ward is the section where the blind live.

The second Kanuri ward is under Lowan Kolo Kolo, who also is a kabuna of the Ajia. His ward is largely but not entirely Kanuri. Under his jurisdiction is the market and most of the

632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 563 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serakin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 563 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All southerners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards
563 are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and
167 Dagora, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

[GEIDAM]

632 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at
563 camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab
167 area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come
[162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet
621 called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper.
[162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula-
[622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves
[651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection
632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem-
621 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka-
563 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most
177 of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River, whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of
[302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly acculturated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in
[771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude
[273] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip
[534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the
632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all
621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition
[243]
[285]
[463]

632 621 [243] [385] [463]

[GEIDAM]

they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sɔgdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koldi make sɔgdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Craftsmen who make the fine sitting mat (bɔji), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

[732] [283] [621] [622] [281] [285] [323] [441] [735]

463 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members
467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 About half of the craftsmen live in neighborhoods where
467 that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers
621 and sogdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to
[563] an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice
[574] of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-
443 place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, housebuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of
463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe-
467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is
493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their
[621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-
[563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the
441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

[GEIDAM]

44 ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in
438 the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued.
[442] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) 558 sellers of food-stuff.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 kalkua (kuka leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[563] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) 55 sellers of live animals.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

[GEIDAM]

44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retail-
ing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[543] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are
vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others
they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or
Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized
product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[442] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women
who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the
sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods,
of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by
Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and
the entire range of household goods noted above. Included
within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the
craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins,
etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
438 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents per-
haps the single most important imported item, and items like
enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third
of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of
condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most
sell typically local Kanuri items. The tabarma sells imported

[GEIDAM]

44 438 439 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown, does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamelware, and everything sold by the tabarma are all imported into Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reaching these retailers in the market-place. Sabarma from other small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell them in their own towns, and sabarma from Geidam go out to the small towns and villages with their goods.

44 438 439 563 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found living in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day to sell particular items with which they are associated and to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns solely to exchange their goods for those made by the townspeople; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes; Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and basket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts, [415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

[GEIDAM]

44 438 439 543 [915] en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Lastly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 439 177 External trade remains to be considered. This is the process through which Western goods, imported by the European trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 439 177 952 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to wholesalers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily receive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balɔsma in Kanuri terms. [556] Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in [592] large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households, [571] and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

44 439 177 452 tant towns where no trading companies are located, and in the surrounding villages that are not large enough to support canteens and shops of their own. When goods are distributed and sold in this fashion, the balɔsma pays off the debt which he has accumulated at the trading company with which he deals, and acquires new stocks of goods which have since arrived -- 44 439 177 new cotton prints, organdy and rayon. Small traders, sabɔrma, who are unable to establish a good credit rating and therefore cannot deal directly with the European companies, come to the Kanuri canteens and buy cloth in small quantities which they resell in the market-place or in other villages. The retailers of cloth in the market-place are therefore tradesmen of a different sort from the operators of the canteens, and it is in the hands of these canteen traders that external trade lies.

Like cloth, all other imported goods which eventually find their way to the market-place get there at the end of a process of breaking of bulk which centers in the shops and canteens. Items like flashlight batteries, kerosene lanterns, kerosene, matches, enamelware and perfume are bought in bulk by the shop-keepers directly from the trading companies who import them [563] through their central offices in Kano and Lagos. The latter type of goods is handled largely by Ibo and Yoruba traders who operate small canteens in the Hausa ward, though some Kanuri canteens also deal in such merchandise. The Ibo and Yoruba shop-keepers sell goods directly in their small shops, and also sell to tabɔrma. Tabɔrma, who are Kanuri, further break

[GEIDAM]

44 439 276 [574] remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly. The Geidam goroma may also send his own agents, members of his household, to these small villages with kola nuts to sell. These agents sell to still smaller-scale middlemen in the Geidam market-place. The commonest form of retailing of kola nuts is the hawker, the bakama, who walks through the streets with a board on which he has several dozen nuts. Men who sit chatting in the evening shade will buy one or two nuts from the bakama as he passes, divide them into halves and quarters and distribute them among the several loungers. Kola nuts may pass through the hands of five or six middlemen before the Kanuri villager sinks his teeth into them.

44 439 [233] The counterpart to kola nuts in regional trade is cattle. Cattle do not thrive in tropical southern Nigeria, and since large quantities are raised in the north, cattle are the most important item which is sent south. Kola nut importers in Geidam frequently send cattle south in this two-way trade. Occasionally two men act as partners, one remaining in the north from whence he ships cattle and where he receives kola nuts, the other living in some southern city, where he receives the cattle sent by his partner and forwards kola nuts north. One Kanuri goroma in Geidam had a Hausa partner stationed in Enugu, and the two dealt exclusively in cattle and kola nuts in the manner described.

44 439 563 A subsidiary regional trade which has been increasing in importance in the recent years is entirely in the hands of Ibos

living in Geidam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry, buying beef slaughtered in Geidam, where the price is low, and curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos, it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geidam and ship the dried meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges. This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish, too, are plentiful in Geidam. The dried fish trade extends to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south by truck.

D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is itself divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia. Geidam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993, covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Geidam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geidam, the largest town in the district and consequently its administrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geidam.

The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

000 unduly exploiting the populace.

651 The second duty is to collect taxes. These fall into two categories: haraji--a tax on houses, sheep and goats, and [563] other forms of property and jangali--a tax on cattle. Since cattle are so important in the economy of the area, much tax revenue is derived from jangali of which there are three forms: nomad jangali, collected from the semi-nomadic pastoral peoples, Kwoyam, Buduwai, Shuwa Arab, and particularly Fulani, by far the largest pastoral group in Geidam; village jangali; [632] road and market jangali. Haraji and village jangali are collected by the Lowans of each village. Within the town of Geidam, road and market jangali is collected by Lowan Kolo Kolo [634] since the market lies within his ward. Nomad jangali is collected by the Ajia.

651 632 634 Several months before haraji is to be collected the Lowan compiles a list of all tax payers under his jurisdiction. This list is sent to Maiduguri and then to Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region, for inspection. On its return to him, he collects the haraji tax. In Geidam District a kabuna is sent off to each Lowan in the district to be present when the lists [648] are compiled. This is counter to British colonial regulations which are designed to make the Lowan independent of the Ajia, [626] and responsible only to the provincial administration. Yerima's argument, however, is that the Lowans will not properly assess their villagers unless a stranger, the kabuna, is present to assure that they do not under-assess in making up the lists.

651 trusted, to large areas. A number of less important kabuna col-
634 lect the jangali, under the responsibility of the chief kabuna in their area. The wakil, Wakil Ali, tours the entire district. Occasionally Yerima himself tours key sections, accompanied by a special wakil (formerly Wakil Guloma had this assignment, but [he] has been replaced). A second tactical approach is to keep a certain number of horsemen in reserve. When an unusually large number of cattle are reported in any one area, horsemen are rushed into that area, assuring that all the cattle will be reported and that the kabuna there will not be swamped in their work. A third approach which Yerima used successfully in Magumeri District is to divide the entire district into strips several miles in width. Several kabuna comb a strip moving from east to west looking for Fulani with cattle, while other kabuna are simultaneously combing similar strips to the north and the south. When a group of kabuna have gone through their own strip, they exchange strips with another group and return in the opposite direction.

563 In Geidam today the Fulani are organized under Ardos and
651 Mais. A Fulani lineage is under an Ardo, appointed by the Ajia, Yerima Mustapha. When an Ardo dies, his people bring the man that they would like to succeed the dead Ardo, usually his son, to Yerima who appoints him Ardo. The Mai governs over all Fulani in a large area; he has many Ardos under him. In Geidam District there are four Fulani Mais who fall within the territories of particular Lowans. These are Mai Musa, Mai Kusur, Mai

563 651 Maganuwa, and Mai Mar. Several other Mais roam in the brush areas without being attached to particular lowanships. A new man may come to Yerima with a group of Fulani followers and ask to be made an Ardo. If he is appointed Ardo, he is then asked to which Mai he wishes his group to be affiliated. A kabuna sent by Yerima to collect jangali from a particular area records the number of cows reported by the Ardo or Mai for his group of followers in that area. Then the kabuna hunts down the cows [687] and their individual owners. If the kabuna finds that an Ardo actually has more cows than he originally reported, the Ardo is fined five shillings for every additional cow found. Each Fulani Mai receives a percentage of the total jangali collected from his group. The percentage that he receives (wujira) is in the neighborhood of six pence for each pound of jangali collected. The Mai then distributes money to his Ardos, according to the amount of jangali that they brought in.

651 634 When Yerima left Magumeri District in 1953 there were 28,000 cows on which village jangali was paid, and 59,700 cows on which nomad jangali was paid. In 1956, under the new Ajia, Digma, the number of cows on which nomad jangali was paid had dropped to 23,000. The drop in the reported number of cows may be because Fulani have left Magumeri District, but it is more likely that Digma is unable to have them tracked down so that the jangali tax is paid. This is because Digma has insufficient kabuna to do the job adequately. When Yerima first arrived in Geidam in 1953 there were 33,000 cows reported for nomad jangali. By 1956, there were 39,000 cows reported, an

[GEIDAM]

651 increase of 6,000 cows. The tax figures for Geidam District
634 in 1956 are as follows:
[652]

village jangali - 30,000 cows		
nomad jangali - 39,000 cows	taxes collected =	£ 17,500
road and market jangali		3,000
haraji		41,000
total taxes		£ 61,500

Geidam is a large, populous district and the sums involved in
[433] tax collection are correspondingly large. Because Geidam has a large farming population, it has less bush area to accommodate nomadic Fulani and the number of cows on which nomadic jangali
651 is collected is smaller than in Magumeri District. Yerima
634 Mustapha's approach to jangali collection is to reconcile two
• 563 seemingly conflicting goals. On the one hand he attempts to attract Fulani Ardos into his district; on the other hand he attempts to collect jangali for every single cow within the district. Digma, the Ajia of Magumeri District, doesn't try to attract Fulani into his district, nor can he collect jangali for all the cows already there, though he tours a great deal and covers much of the area himself, which Yerima does not do.

651 The contrast presented by the two Ajias, Yerima and Dig-
634 ma, is enlightening. From the point of view of the British,
663 Yerima does an excellent job in administering his district, and
156 in particular in collecting taxes. The amount which Yerima
[648] brings in to the NA treasure is steadily increasing, and there is no reason for investigating his methods as there are no complaints. Yerima organizes his kabuna, who do the actual work of collecting taxes. Yerima himself does not perform the physi-

651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima, who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
563
662

651 cattle is to deal directly with the Ardos and Mais, bribing
634 them with gifts to come into the district. This is highly im-
563 proper, as the Fulani of a district are considered a part of
662 that district. Movement of Fulani from one district to another merely alters the source of jangali, but does nothing to increase the total amount which flows into the central NA treasury. Indeed, one source of concern to Yerima is that the Fulani Ardos of Geidam District will hear that the Ajia of Magumeri District, which is directly south of Geidam and shares with it a long unprotected border, has an inadequate number of horsemen, and will move south into Magumeri District out of reach of Yerima's kabuna, to avoid paying jangali. Should such a movement out of his district occur, Yerima would notify the Waziri in Maiduguri, who would in turn force Digma to patrol his side of the border to prevent the Fulani from moving unnoticed into his district. It is clear, however, that Yerima is not above offering inducements to Fulani Ardos to move into his territory and increase his tax lists.

651 Yerima's overall scheme depends on the stationing of im-
634 portant kabuna who are in charge of jangali collection in their
563 areas. These are as follows:
66

Grema Jisami - responsible for all the territory north of the Yobe River.
Kolo Kime - responsible for the area around Gumsa, and all the Fulani under Mai Musa.
Aba Chiari - responsible for the area around Kusur, and all the Fulani under Mai Kusur.
Kongadi - responsible for the Maganuwa area, and the Fulani under Mai Maganuwa.
Kazella Dokalia - responsible for the Zurukuduk area, but with no single Fulani Mai in his area.

[GEIDAM]

651 634 563 66 Mai Mar, the fourth important Fulani Mai does not have assigned to him a kabuna in charge of jangəli collection from his people. All other kabuna remain located in Geidam town, and are sent out to particular areas on demand. The primary method used by Yerima is to send out horses to areas in which cattle are reported. One aspect of Aba Chiari's job is to let Yerima know if Fulani are crossing over into Magumeri District, as his area is along the Geidam-Magumeri border.

Yerima is willing to reach a compromise in assigning jangəli payment to a particular Ardo or Mai which is below the full amount according to the actual count of cattle belonging to his group. If the Ardo is willing to accept Yerima's assessment, then both sides benefit: Yerima benefits because his kabuna have less work to do and can turn their attention elsewhere where it may be needed, the Ardo benefits because the total jangəli is less for his group than it would be if every cow were counted. It is through such methods that the Fulani Ardos are induced to remain in Geidam or to come to Geidam should they find themselves in the district of an Ajia who is erratic or uncompromising. Should the Ardo feel that he can get away with paying less jangəli than the amount assigned to him by Yerima, on the basis of information given him by his chief kabuna, he might try to hide cattle or to sneak away. Then Yerima would descend on his people with many kabuna and every single head of cattle would be counted and taxed. The threat of Yerima's many kabuna makes this an unwise course of action,

and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compromised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district, and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is demanded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from jangali, or using his position to extract money from villagers for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

The roles of a number of political figures have been discussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the political system of Geidam has been attributed to the ability of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapting those relationships to the changing present.

However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gei-

[BEIDAH]

796 spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people
[574] dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, at-
574 tended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were
[563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups,
[262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in
[272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After
[302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed,
[576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubɔro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to
[434] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

speakers of these languages as of English. It has been noted that both Shuwa and Fulani pastoralists are found in considerable numbers in Borno Province. The members of the group of NA Malams seem to be outstanding in their knowledge of other languages. Not only do they all speak Hausa and English, but three in addition speak Shuwa Arabic, two speak Fulani, and one speaks Mandara.

Turning to reading ability (Table XVII), it can be seen that 15 of the sample (34 per cent) are able to read in English script, while 24 of the sample (54.5 per cent) are capable of reading in Arabic script. Writing the Kanuri language in Arabic script preceded the entry of the British into the area by several centuries; the British introduced writing in Latin (English) script and have taught this form of writing in the schools. It is clear that many more individuals are capable of writing in Arabic script today than in English script. It is also apparent that almost half of the sample are illiterate in any script.

Of those who can write well in English script, 10 of the 11 fall into two groups: the Aristocracy and the NA Malams. Most of the individuals in the six other groups are unable to write in English script. The pattern of those who are capable of writing in Arabic script is quite different. Once again the NA Malams are an outstanding group. Not only can they all write in English script, but all can also write in Arabic script. Of course the Koranic Malams can also all write in Arabic script.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 256]

175 439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 onwards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The 175 436 government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giving currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bartering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit. 175 441 452 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing 175 441 452 563 [167] Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europeans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numerous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

12.1 and complexity of stratification.(1) Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt [829] here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

829 The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organ-
582 ization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as
563 can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely
191 endogamous,(2) although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

829 There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

(1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.

(2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or women which included non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

829 things when they can be identified as Kanuri. If things get farther away from this Kanuri-ness they can be different from, worse than, or better than, the ideal Kanuri attribute. Thus a Fulani calabash is not good or bad, but it is not Kanuri — it is a different jili (i.e. variety). Facial features, on the other hand, either approach this ideal of Kanuri-ness, which is good, or differ widely from it, which is bad or ugly or not "the pure one" as one English-speaking informant declared. Customs, objects, morals, etiquette, dress, in fact the whole gamut of Kanuri-ness which is generally speaking evaluated as good. In some respects, for example, the Kanuri practice of asking for things continually from others or the widespread practice of adultery, this ideal Kanuri-ness is not the summum bonum. Nevertheless even when informants exclaim Kai Kanuri dibi dea (Wow! Kanuri are wicked) in response to some story of adultery or immorality in general, there seems to be a certain amount of pride expressed in this judgement because of the Kanuri flavour of the misdemeanor.(1)

177 The Bornu Emirate has throughout its long history always had contacts with other ethnic groups both within and beyond its borders. [162] Although the Kanuri are the majority group in Bornu, they are in constant contact with many other ethnic groups, especially in the larger centres. 162 Almost every town of over one thousand population has a pagan ward; • 563 slightly larger centres have a Hausa quarter, and often politically dependent (settled) Fulani or Shuwa hamlets nearby. Larger towns like Maiduguri, Nguru, Geidam, Dikwa or Damaturu have Ibo, Yoruba and sometimes European trading elements living in the town as well. Maiduguri, the

[192] (1) The Kanuri word dibi means bad, wicked, immoral in one sense. However, it can also be used as an expression of wonder, delight or amazement. For example, it could be elicited from a peasant on his first experience with a typewriter, or the insides of a camera.

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563 capital, has, besides all these, a large Arab-speaking population from the Near East and the Sudan as well as the European Reservation for commercial and government personnel.

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829 In this situation of constant confrontation and to some extent interaction with other ethnic groups, evaluation of status by ethnic membership takes place. The Kanuri vary widely in their disposition to rank own-group as having the highest status among all the other peoples that they are in contact with or about whom they have any information. Almost universally Europeans are accorded high status (sometimes higher than own-group) as an ethnic group. This stems from their superior political and economic positions as administrators and traders. Thus, informants, unless they are well travelled or sophisticated city dwellers, are shocked and surprised to hear that there are prisons in England which house murderers, thieves and scoundrels, or that there are people in England who can be classed as labourers. In their eyes and experience, Englishmen have never been low status persons. Indeed one of the common expressions among the peasants is "Nasara Mai" (Europeans are kings). One informant, during a discussion of religious edicts on morality and the relation of these to the practicalities of everyday life, interjected a surprising comment on the relation of morality to life. He claimed that the only true Muslims in the world were Englishmen, since they were the only people who ever told the truth.

The Arabas (i.e. Arabic speakers, with the exception of the Shuwa nomads) like the Europeans, have very little but formal social con-
[826] tacts with the Kanuri and are highly rated as an ethnic group. The Arab facial features and skin colour are the models for what is the most attractive and pleasing (therefore the ideal Kanuri) physical types. The

• 563 829 place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

[198] [171] Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protracted time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somewhat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Maguneri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan (1) whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the east, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name. [551] To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.

• 563 829 grown up as a Muslim, will only speak of his background reluctantly or confidentially. Pagan groups in Kanuri towns, who are usually Banana or Owoza peoples from the Cameroons, manifest many of the characteristics typically associated with minority groups everywhere. They often speak of the equality of all men in the eyes of God, and proclaim privately that they are just as good and deserving of dignity and respect as the Kanuri majority. Stories of unfair treatment and all kinds of unjust discrimination are easily elicited. The Kanuri, on the other hand, openly despise them, referring to them as a general class of lower status people – kurdi (infidels) who were used as slaves in the old days. Despite these status differentials, the pagans in the Kanuri towns live in a [464] symbiotic relationship with the majority group. They supply the Kanuri [273] with a cheap cash labour supply and brew the liquor that many Kanuri [461] like to drink but would consider abhorrent to manufacture. The pagans obtain, therefore, a large ready market for their products (i.e. their brew, and their unskilled manual labour), because of the low regard in which these two activities are held by the Kanuri.

Pagans who are known to have Muslim sectors, such as the Babur tribe of southern Bornu or the Yoruba of western Nigeria are still regarded as low status but are not nearly so unanimously despised as the local brewers of beer with whom the Kanuri have daily contacts. It is probable that the existence of urban classes and a nobility among the Babur and the Yoruba which is originally absent among the Owoza and the Banana, aids in differentiating their status as ethnic groups for the Kanuri.

The Ibo people of south-east Nigeria are considered to come under the rubric of the despised pagan group, although it is known that

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most of them (whom the Kanuri contact) are Christians. Informants remarked that Ibo Christianity, like all the rest of their European skills, is newly acquired.(1) The widespread attitude towards Ibos is reflected in the oft repeated stereotype about their alleged cannibalistic practices (Hiamali kam shrin - Ibos eat people) which indicates the Kanuri ambivalence towards this group.(2) They are despised but feared at the same time. This is due primarily to the much greater degree of westernization of the Ibo generally as compared to the Kanuri. Iboland in the eastern region of Nigeria is overpopulated and yet has a long history of mission education. Because of the need for western trained personnel over all of Nigeria, there has been an emigration of Ibo mechanics, clerks, postmasters, traders, truckers, builders, lawyers and even a doctor or two to all parts of the country. Thus a despised pagan group is seen to have more income, higher status jobs, more facility with western type liti-

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(1) One western educated Kanuri told the writer that the high numbers of educated Ibos proved that they (the Ibos) know how to bribe Europeans into giving them qualifying certificates and higher degrees.

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(2) The notion of "eating" also includes the ideal of being cheated, which the Kanuri feel is always a strong possibility in their dealings with Ibos. The stories of Ibo cannibalism are rife all over northern Nigeria — with strong support from credulent Europeans who share the general belief. The empirical validity of these stories is unknown to the writer — however, they seem to have very little basis in fact in the contemporary society, and are even somewhat doubtful for the aboriginal culture of the Ibo. There is no mention of cannibalism in Forde, D. & Jones, G. I., The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking People of South-Eastern Nigeria, (1950). The only reference to the subject in Meek, C.K., Law and Authority in Nigeria (1937) p. 67, is to a fright given to initiates by one of the priests that their testicles may be eaten during the course of the initiation ceremony. Finally, Talbot, P.A., In the Shadow of the Bush (1912), gives one reference to a conversation in the Calabar region (p.246) in which the people told him that cannibalistic rituals were practised "up until quite recently". He mentions cannibalism again (p. 260) giving his source of information to be his carrier boys, who were strangers to the particular group he describes as having "the filed teeth and the shrunken appearance usually associated with cannibal rites". Although this is by no means a complete survey of the literature it suggests a lack of empirical validity in the last few decades at least, for the practice of Ibo cannibalism.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M514 Kanuri M514

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gation, and a national political organization seeking reforms and power in the local scene.(1) Historically their position as a pagan group puts them in the low status position of kurdi (infidels) by Kanuri standards, but the acquisition of European culture and their ability to make acculturated skills work for the benefit provoke covert feelings of admiration, jealousy, and fear on the part of the indigenous population of Borno.

That there is some ambivalence in the Kanuri attitudes towards ethnic groups they rank as high (or higher) than themselves is easily discovered in conversation with persons who have more contact with Arabs and/or Europeans. Whether or not this means that the ambivalence increases with the amount of interpersonal contact it is difficult to say with present knowledge, although this could be considered as one hypothesis which explains the facts, until further tests are carried out. Peasants do not think comparatively about whether or not they are in some respects as good, better, or worse than Arabs and/or Europeans. They accord these groups high status among the "big" people of their world, whose particular place in the scheme of things is rather vague and far away from their own immediate experience but, nonetheless, rich and powerful. However, for those in close contact with Arabs and Europeans, aggressive, resentful remarks about the behaviour of these groups are common. Arabs are spoken of as dishonest traders who cheat [441] good Kanuri of their rightful profits. Since the Arabs maintain a large proportion of the available credit from the European trading companies, they do objectively limit the expansion of Kanuri entrepreneurial activity.(2)

(1) Coleman, J.S. Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (1958), Chap. 16
(2) See below, pp. 322-324.

• 563 829 [554] Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hospitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arziyi, see below pp.225-228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the [555] Ibos for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

125 563 829 Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank (1)

(1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

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•563 eighteen tribes (including "Europeans") on a printed sheet, using the fol-(1)
829 lowing instructions, which were given in Kanuri.

(1) Check the sheet as I read it through aloud and make sure you can all understand the printing. Only students who can read and speak Kanuri should take this test. Are there any questions about the printing of the words?

(2) If Allah were to give you all the power in the world to do anything you wished, from which of the following tribes (later occupations) listed on the sheet would you most like to obtain a fero (a virgin bride) for your wife? Make a mark (1) on the sheet beside that tribe, the tribe you would like second best, mark (2) and so on.

(3) You must choose all the tribes, not only the ones you like.

(4) You should also remember that when you put a very high number beside the tribe (or occupation) this means that you are saying that you really do not like this tribe (or occupation) at all, in fact you dislike it.

Since it is a Kanuri practice to rate people as "number one" or "number two" in terms of his position along some dimension such as political power, scholarly learning, etc., this type of rank ordering in data collection seemed to be more congruent with traditional modes of evaluation rather than other statistical devices which are commonly used for the same purpose, such as paired comparisons or the rating of judgements on some scale made up by the researcher. The results are presented in the table below.

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829 It should be noted that the arrangement of choices is quite
[128] similar to that discussed earlier, the data for which was derived from field interviews with adult informants. Two Muslim groups, the Tubo and more strongly the Tuareg, are ranked low. This can be accounted for by their historical relation to the Kanuri as raiders and warring tribes,

(1) The questionnaire was administered by Kanuri teachers in the classrooms. Three European teachers were replaced by three Kanuri-speaking ones. These included the writer, his wife, and Mrs. A. Rosman. All participating Kanuri teachers took "dry runs" of the test themselves in an instruction session before giving it to their students.

[text continues on p.195]

3: Cohen E-4, 5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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TABLE V

Tribal Choices (Social Distance) of Urban Kanuri Schoolboys (aged 13-19)

Ordinal *	Choice Cardinal	Tribe	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Remarks
I (1-3)	1	Arab	3.24	1.73	Rich traders, people of the Koran. Considered to be good-looking. Own-tribe.
	2	Kanuri	3.49	2.01	
II (4-6)	3	Europeans	3.89	2.17	The highest political authority
	4	Shuwa	4.21	1.95	Beautiful women, Arabic-speaking, Muslims, acculturate easily.
	5	Hausa	4.45	1.95	A Muslim Emirate, much historical contact
III (7-9)	6	Fulani	6.57	2.24	Muslims, nomads, sometimes good, sometimes bad relations.
	7	Yoruba	8.60	2.44	Part Muslim, not much contact with this group.
IV (10-12)	8	Babur	9.66	2.65	Part Muslim, some contact, increasing today.
	9	Bolewa	9.94	2.63	Part Muslim, some contacts
	10	Kanembu	10.03	2.96	Muslim, but raided the Kanuri in the past. Some acculturation.
	11	Mandara	10.85	2.58	Pagan, very little contact
	12	Tubo	11.70	3.00	Muslim, raided the Kanuri until quite recently
	13	Magari	11.90	2.46	Pagan, very little contact socially
	14	Ibo	12.30	2.88	Christian-Pagan, contact as a separate ethnic group in cities.
V (13-15)	15	Tuareg	13.75	2.07	Muslim, much feared for their raiding
	16	Tiv	14.08	2.16	Pagans, known to be naked, very little contact.
VI (16-18)	17	Banana	15.69	1.75	Both groups are pagan, many of whom live as a minority group
	18	Owosa	16.34	1.84	among the Kanuri as labourers and brewers of beer

* The Ordinal choices in Roman numerals I-VI are calculated from categories of mean choices; e.g. I-1 to 3, II - 4 to 6, III 7 to 9, etc.

563 829 who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Gwosa peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Muslim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yeruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Gwosa and Banana.

Occupation

554 The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the 554 567 status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave, for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumeri a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shehu, because his father was a slave of the former Shehu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

555 793 Koranic mallems are accorded prestige because of their close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialised powers, and because of the leading role they take in rites de passage. The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-228, arziyi) and their birth.

000 555 871 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognised, especially in the upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

463 571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants, 571 [212] medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English, own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

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871 563 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilisations in London, September 1955.

342 476 565 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the owner. This method is only practised in the construction of house types 342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists 331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this 565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist labour. [369] Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contractors, [563] as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the government and private indivudals to build houses using combinations of both traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur- [427] chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages [369] and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the peasant [425] by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his descendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving 423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Maguneri, the 632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a radius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
[648] even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade contacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the traditional process of organizing relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-government coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner. Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and contact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
= 563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 Levantines. This does not mean that there are no Africans trading
439 directly with the European houses, rather it reflects an historical
563 development in which the Levantine traders emerged as the middlemen between the European and the African trading communities.

Although a little importing and exporting is carried on by the Levantine and, to a much smaller extent, by the Kanuri traders, the bulk of the export/import trade is done by five or six leading European firms.(1) This system has been attacked by local Bornu politicians, who feel that the Levantines should not have the easiest and largest access to the credit of European firms and banks. The difficulty encountered is that the present system has built-in supports which tend, albeit with diminishing force, to perpetuate its present form. First of all, it must be realized that once the credit is out to the Levantine traders, it is difficult to liquidate in any real fashion. When attempts [452] are made to do this, e.g. when one company is clearing its books, a very usual practice is followed in which the indebted Levantine trader merely goes to another competing European firm (or several) plus the bank, if possible, and takes enough credit to pay his debt to the liquidating company. European traders often refer to this phenomenon and complain of the Levantines as having them "by the throats". Secondly, it is patently easier for harassed European managers to keep track of trade with fifty to one hundred Levantines than it would be with hundreds of African entrepreneurs. Thirdly, there is less cultural and racial distance between European managers of the large firms and the Levantine traders than between the European and the African. Similarly,

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(1) Excluding mining equipment, ships, boats and stores of the larger shipping companies, it has been estimated, Bauer, P.T., West African Trade, p. 69, that 70% of all West African trade (as of 1949) is handled by six trading companies.

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the Africans and the European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can
452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

175 enforcing compliance with the "fundamental laws of humanity" (which
648 ruled out the slave trade). The European and the African were to co-
642 operate in administering the country but live separate lives socially,
[563] while western ideas and technology were to be introduced slowly when and if they would be acceptable, and only when capable of being financed on local revenues.

175 Out of this organization there grew a readily identifiable
648 English sub-culture whose uniqueness was a product of its particular
563 English upper class background and its adjustment to the common stimulus of Northern Nigeria. Their standards of administrative judgment came from Lugard and their common origins in English society; their hopes and fears, frustrations and satisfactions, grew out of the common work situation to be found in the British administration of the northern Emirates.

Because of the dearth of trained local personnel for carrying on the day to day office work and record-keeping of administration, the southern Nigerian, predominantly the Ibo, was introduced to Bornu. They soon came as skilled and semi-skilled labourers, carpenters, builders, bricklayers, mechanics and traders, and so in Bornu a minority group of southerners, mostly Christian, and more acculturated to Western ways became an established, although separate, part of the society.

175 After the inception of colonial rule the interaction be-
648 tween the British administration and the native political organization soon settled into a fairly steady pattern in which the British pushed continually for conformity to their own values in political organization, education, taxation, trade, etc. The Bornu officials and others who contacted the British, in their response, maintained as much of Kanuri culture as they could while at the same time learning what to

considered in some detail.

563 The data on ethnic membership indicates that social contacts through physical proximity per se between people of different ethnic origins does not necessarily decrease the social distance between them. The Kanuri feel greater social distance towards pagan groups with whom they interact, than those with whom they have very little interpersonal relations. On the other hand, although they have few interpersonal contacts with Arabs and Europeans, these groups are ranked as high as their own, and in some cases even higher.

463 Occupations range widely in terms of the status they accord
554 to individual members of the society. In the low status range are such jobs as butcher, blacksmith, petty broker, drummer-entertainer, and money-lender. On the other hand civil service jobs, including the traditional political offices which have been supported by colonial rule in the contemporary society, are ranked as high status positions. In the middle range are the less highly valued European-introduced occupations requiring manual labour. Here too are the lesser valued traditional political offices like Village and Hamlet Head, while traditional crafts fall below these and above the low status range. The emphasis on non-self-employment among high status occupations indicates that for Bornu just as in many underdeveloped areas of the world, western education means most desirably to those who obtain it, a civil service career, rather than an entrepreneurial or self-employed occupational future.

554 Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. The other dimensions of rank modify this biologically given status, and thus birth, although important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of an individual's status in the social structure at any particular point in time.